

Township 20 north, range 21 west, M.P.M., section 1 northeast quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres.

Township 22 north, range 22 west, M.P.M., section 3 north half southeast quarter, containing 80.00 acres.

Township 19 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 5 northeast quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres; section 35 south half northeast quarter, southeast quarter northwest quarter, northeast quarter southeast quarter, containing 160.00 acres.

Township 20 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 15 northeast quarter, southeast quarter northwest quarter, containing 200.00 acres; section 17 west half southwest quarter, containing 80.00 acres; section 18 southeast quarter northeast quarter, east half southeast quarter, containing 120.00 acres; section 29 northwest quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres; section 30 northeast quarter southeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres; section 29 west half southwest quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter, containing 5.00 acres; section 32 northwest quarter northwest quarter northwest quarter northwest quarter, containing 2.50 acres.

Township 22 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 9 southwest quarter northeast quarter, southeast quarter northwest quarter, east half southwest quarter, west half southeast quarter, containing 240.00 acres.

Township 23 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 3 southwest quarter northeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres; section 5 west half southeast quarter northwest quarter, southwest quarter northwest quarter, containing 60.00 acres; section 17 southeast quarter southeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres; section 19 lots 2 and 4, southeast quarter northwest quarter, containing 103.21 acres.

Township 24 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 19, southwest quarter, northeast quarter, northeast quarter southwest quarter, east half southeast quarter, containing 160.00 acres; section 20, southwest quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres; section 30, northeast quarter northeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres.

Township 23 north, range 24 west, M.P.M., section 1, northeast quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres; section 3, northwest quarter southeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres; section 24, northeast quarter southeast quarter northeast quarter, south half southeast quarter northeast quarter, southeast quarter southeast quarter southeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres.

Township 24 north, range 24 west, M.P.M., section 1, lot 2, containing 26.10 acres; section 35, northwest quarter northeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres.

The net proceeds from the sale or exchange of lands pursuant to this section shall be used to acquire within a reasonable time additional lands within the reservation boundaries in accordance with section 2 of this Act.

Sec. 2. Upon request of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire Indian- or non-Indian-owned lands within the reservation boundaries for such tribes, and such lands may be held for tribal use or for sale to tribal members. Title to lands acquired pursuant to this authority shall be taken in the name of the United States in trust for the tribes or the tribal member to whom the land is sold.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana. The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nomination on the Executive Calendar.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CALIFORNIA DEBRIS COMMISSION

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Brig. Gen. William M. Glasgow, Jr., U.S. Army, to be a member of the California Debris Commission under the provisions of section 1 of the act of Congress approved March 1, 1893 (27 Stat. 507; 33 U.S.C. 661).

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

U.S. AIR FORCE

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Air Force.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

U.S. ARMY

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Army.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

U.S. NAVY

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Navy.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate re-

sume the consideration of legislative business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE BUDGET, 1969, FOR THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH, SENATE

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an amendment to the budget for the fiscal year 1969, in the amount of \$1,430,305, for the legislative branch, Senate (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

UNITED STATES-MEXICO COMMISSION FOR BORDER DEVELOPMENT AND FRIENDSHIP

A communication from the President of the United States, urging the enactment of a bill to establish the United States Section of the United States-Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friendship; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORT ON SMOKING AND HEALTH

A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting, pursuant to law, his report on smoking and health, which includes the Surgeon General's Report to the Secretary on The Health Consequences of Smoking, 1968 Supplement (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

WAGERING TAX AMENDMENTS OF 1968

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to modify the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to wagering taxes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Finance.

REPORT OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the need for improvements in internal auditing, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation dated July 2, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

INTERIM REPORT ON MODEL CODE TO GOVERN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE BY COURTS OF INDIAN OFFENSES ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, reporting, pursuant to law, that it will not be possible to complete preparations for drafting the model code to govern the administration of justice by courts of Indian offenses on Indian reservations in time to permit its submission to Congress by the date specified in the act; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

REPORT OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

A letter from the Attorney General of the United States, reporting, pursuant to law, on the proceedings he has instituted before the Subversive Activities Control Board since January 2, 1968 to the Committee on the Judiciary.

RANDOLPH-SHEPPARD ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1968

A letter from the Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Randolph-Sheppard vending stand for the blind law so as to make certain improvements therein (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. KUCHEL, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments:

S. 2159. A bill to establish the Fort Point National Historic Site in San Francisco, Calif., and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1382).

BILL INTRODUCED

A bill was introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 3733. A bill for the relief of Yuk Kwun Lam; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE RESOLUTION 313—RESOLUTION URGING SUSPENSION OF MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT FOR POLAND

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I submit, for reference to committee, a resolution urging the suspension of most-favored-nation treatment for the Polish Communist Government "so long as the Polish Government continues its present campaign against Polish intellectuals and students and religious institutions and the Jewish minority in Poland, and so long as it continues to conduct itself as a total satellite of Moscow in the sphere of foreign policy."

I am pleased to be joined in sponsoring this resolution by the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] and the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS].

The resolution points out that most-favored-nation treatment was predicated on the belief "that there would be a progressive development in the direction of greater religious, cultural and political freedom for the Polish people," and that "Poland was moving in the direction of increasing independence from Moscow in the conduct of its foreign affairs."

Since the conditions on which most-favored-nation treatment were predicated no longer exist, since the Polish Government has indeed for several years now been moving backward instead of forward, I believe it makes sense to let the Polish people know that we strongly disapprove of the drift back to Stalinist rule on the part of the Polish Communist Government, and that we also share their unhappiness over their Government's slavish obedience to Moscow in the field of foreign policy.

The hopes we have entertained in recent years were not without foundation. The great Poznan revolt of 1956 produced a condition in Poland that was aptly described by some writers as "the frozen revolution."

The Communist regime still remained. But in the immediate aftermath of the Poznan revolt there was a truly remarkable liberalization in many spheres.

The peasants abandoned the collective farms and began to farm their own plots of land. The church was granted a degree of freedom unequalled in any other Communist country. And while the re-

gime essentially remained a one-party dictatorship, Poland's intellectuals and students were able to show a degree of independence which would have been unthinkable under the old regime.

Moreover, certain actions taken by the Polish Government during this period created reasonable ground for hoping that in the field of foreign policy Moscow's control was no longer as absolute as it had previously been.

Over the last few years, however, the Polish Communist regime, apparently alarmed by the demands for even more freedom, has been clamping down progressively on its restless intellectuals.

As early as November 1964, the Polish security police arrested a group of lecturers and students at Warsaw University, on the charge that they had circulated a paper criticizing the Communist system in Poland. Among the arrested lecturers was Karol Modzelewski, the son of a prominent father and a leader of the pro-Gomulka student movement in 1956.

Instead of being intimidated by their arrest, Modzelewski and a friend by the name of Jacek Kuron circulated an open letter to party members, attacking the Communist system and calling for revolution. Not very surprisingly they were immediately rearrested. Tried behind closed doors, they were sentenced to long terms in prison. But this was only the beginning of the trouble for the Polish Communist regime. Prominent intellectuals, including long-time Communists, rallied to the defense of the imprisoned men. Among them was Leszek Kolakowski, Poland's leading Marxist philosopher.

Kolakowski soon became the leader and the symbol of the intellectual revolt, a revolt that continued to spread like wildfire despite the repressive measures of the Communist regime. Called before the Communist Party Control Commission of March 1966, he refused to give ground before the inquisition to which he was subjected. On October 21, 1966, the 10th anniversary of the Poznan revolt, Kolakowski, in a speech before the history department of Warsaw University, made a scathing indictment of the Communist regime, charging that there was no democracy, no responsible government, no freedom of assembly, and that there was nothing to celebrate.

Two resolutions were moved at this meeting, one demanding freedom of speech and the abolition of censorship and political repression and the other calling for the immediate release of Modzelewski and Kuron.

The next day Professor Kolakowski was expelled from the party.

On November 25, 15 writers, all of them party members, sent a letter to the Central Party Committee declaring their support for Professor Kolakowski and demanding his reinstatement. As a result of their protests, six resigned from the party and seven were suspended.

Again, these limited repressions failed to solve the problem for the Polish Communist regime. Throughout 1967, there were repeated outcroppings of intellectual ferment. On the other hand, the influence of the Stalinist elements within

the party leadership became progressively stronger. The situation was aggravated by the blatantly anti-Semitic reaction of the Communist government after the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967.

The government had sided openly with the Arab extremists against Israel. The sympathy of the Polish Jews, not very surprisingly, lay on the side of the State of Israel. The government responded, first, by attacking the Jews for being "Zionists," then by expelling them en masse from positions in the party and the government and in the universities.

The early months of 1968 witnessed the most massive public revolt since 1956; and they also witnessed a merciless intensification of political repression and anti-Jewish measures.

On January 30 of this year the Communist government ordered the closing of the poetical play "Forefathers Eve," by the renowned 19th century poet Adam Mickiewicz. This action triggered an epidemic of protests over the next several months. Let me quote only a few of the newspaper headlines for the purpose of telling this story as briefly as possible.

On February 18, the New York Times carried a story headlined "Writers Dispute Party in Poland: Showdown Appears at Hand Over Rule of Regime." The article told the story of an extraordinary session of the Polish Writers Union which petitioned against the closing of Mickiewicz' play.

On February 20, the headline in the Baltimore Sun read: "Writer Jailed as Poland Steps Up Stalinist Purge."

On March 8, 4,000 students assembled at Warsaw University to demand the re-opening of the closed play. When the militia was sent against the students, rioting spread to the streets of Warsaw and sympathy demonstrations took place in eight major universities.

On March 10, the headline in the New York Times read: "Polish Students in Second Day of Riots; Tear Gas and Clubs Are Used by Police." According to the article the students shouted "More democracy," "Down with censorship," "Down with the lying press."

The New York Times of March 12 read: "Thousands in Poland Fight Police as Protest Mounts."

On March 20, the New York Times reported on a protest sit-in by the students at Cracow University.

On March 22, there came reports of a student sit-in at Warsaw University.

The revolt, which began in February and continued through the end of March, was brought under control during April and May by stern repressive measures. Any pretense at moderation was completely discarded by the Communist government; and within the Government, according to all reports, the real power passed into the hands of the Stalinist Minister of the Interior, General Moczar.

In cracking down on the intellectuals and the students, the Communist government, following the example set by the Czarist government in the first part of the century, decided to make the harassed Jews of Poland the scapegoat once again. The Government-controlled press charged that the student demon-

stration and the entire intellectual protest movement was instigated by the "Zionists," a term which they have consistently used in seeking to disguise their anti-Semitism.

Hundreds of Jewish intellectuals who had survived the 1967 purge, now were dismissed from the universities and Government offices.

To their everlasting credit, it should be said that Poland's students and intellectuals understand only too well that the present anti-Semitic campaign is part of a wider reaction affecting the entire Polish nation. They have not merely refused to go along with the new Communist campaign against the Jews, but they have openly opposed it. Demonstrating students have carried placards which read: "We are against cultural repression and against anti-Semitism."

At this moment, the Communist reaction is triumphant in Poland. But this triumph, I am certain, is a transient one. The Polish people, who have never compromised with tyranny, will not for long remain quiescent under the intensified tyranny that has now been imposed on them.

It is my belief that by approving the resolution which I have today submitted, we can demonstrate our support for the Polish people in their continuing struggle for freedom and for independence from Moscow's control.

I want to make it clear that I am not proposing economic sanctions. Most-favored-nation treatment is not a right; it is a privilege. And it is a privilege which we have granted to Poland at a heavy cost in terms of our own balance-of-payments deficits.

As the senior Senator from Virginia, Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR., has pointed out, in 1959, the year before most-favored-nation treatment was accorded to Poland, Polish exports to the United States totaled \$31 million, while her imports ran to \$75 million.

At that time, therefore, we had a favorable trade balance of more than \$43 million a year with Poland.

The trade advantages Poland has gained as a result of most favored nation treatment has now reversed the situation so that in 1967 Poland's exports to the United States totaled \$91 million, while her imports had declined to \$61 million. This meant a deficit of another \$30 million a year added to our already pressing balance-of-payments problem.

If Poland had continued to evolve in the direction of greater independence from Moscow and greater internal freedom for her people, a solid argument could be made for continuing to accord her the privilege of most favored nation treatment, even at some cost to ourselves. But as matters stand today I can think of no argument to justify continuation.

I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the Record the complete text of my resolution.

I also ask unanimous consent to insert into the Record at this point an article by Tibor Szamuely which appeared in the Reporter magazine for June 1, 1967, and which tells the story of the intellectual revolt in Poland from 1960 until the first part of 1967.

I also ask unanimous consent to insert into the Record a number of newspaper articles which deal with the events of last year and this year in Poland.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the resolution and articles will be printed in the Record.

The resolution (S. Res. 313) was referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

S. RES. 313

Whereas the most favored nation treatment which the government of Poland today enjoys was predicated on the belief that this government had turned its back on the worst abuses of the past, and on the hope that there would be a progressive development in the direction of greater religious, cultural and political freedom for the Polish people;

Whereas the Polish Communist government over the past year has completely reversed the earlier trend toward liberalization, has embarked on an open campaign against intellectuals and students and freedom of speech, has sought to reimpose new restrictions on religion, and has engaged in a virulently anti-Semitic propaganda reminiscent of the worst of Hitler and Stalin;

Whereas, as President Johnson made clear in his statement of March 24, 1964, announcing the extension of most favored nation treatment for Poland, this policy was also predicated on the assumption that Poland was moving in the direction of increasing independence from Moscow in the conduct of its foreign affairs;

Whereas, as President Johnson made clear in his statement of March 24, 1964, announcing the extension of most favored nation treatment for Poland, this policy was also predicated on the assumption that Poland was moving in the direction of increasing independence from Moscow in the conduct of its foreign affairs; and

Whereas the Polish Communist government has instead over the past two years slavishly followed the Moscow line in foreign policy, as is evident from its unconditional support of the Arab extremists in the Mideast crisis from its militant opposition to the current expansion of freedom in Czechoslovakia, and from the fact that it is, after Moscow, one of the principal sources of supply for North Vietnam: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the government of the United States should manifest its support for the aspirations of the Polish people for more freedom by suspending most favored nation treatment for Poland so long as the Polish government continues its present campaign against Polish intellectuals and students and religious institutions and the Jewish minority in Poland, and so long as it continues to conduct itself as a total satellite of Moscow in the sphere of foreign policy.

The articles, presented by Mr. DODD, are as follows:

[From the Reporter, June 11, 1967]

THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLT IN POLAND

(By Tibor Szamuely)

On January 8, Peter Raina, a young Indian leftist scholar, was expelled from Poland, where he had lived and worked for more than four years. It was a harrowing experience: Raina was held at the East German border for almost twelve hours while Polish guards methodically went through his belongings, reading every scrap of paper. Finally they let him go after confiscating a three-hundred-page manuscript of a biography of Communist Party Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka on which he had been working, with official encouragement and help, for about two years.

Raina had come to Poland full of sympathy for the Gomulka regime. He learned

to love the country, its language and culture. Warsaw University gave him a doctorate. Wanting to see only the best, for a long time he resolutely dismissed all western criticisms as propaganda. He wrote letters to the foreign press attacking western correspondents for their lack of understanding of Poland and accusing them, among other things, of slandering the Ministry of Interior Affairs. Thus it came as a shock to be called an enemy of the state by that very ministry and to be ordered by it to leave the country within forty-eight hours.

When he finally reached West Germany, Dr. Raina unburdened his disillusionment to the press, broadcast to Poland on Radio Free Europe, and made public a scathing letter he had written to the Polish Minister of Interior Affairs. His story is informative, for it shed light on some little-known aspects of what is probably the most important process at present taking place in Poland: the new ferment among the intellectuals.

LAMENT FOR OCTOBER

Since about 1960, Warsaw University, and particularly its departments of the humanities and social sciences, has become the center of disaffection, spreading among the younger generation of intellectuals. In November, 1964, the security police arrested a group of the university's young lecturers and students. One of the lecturers was Karol Modzelewski, a stepson of the late Polish Communist Foreign Minister and a leader of the pro-Gomulka student movement of 1956. They were all accused of having circulated a paper criticizing the Communist system in Poland. Although soon released, five of them were expelled from the party.

Administrative sanctions, usually an effective warning, didn't work this time. Modzelewski and a friend, Jacek Kuron, composed an open letter to the party. When they distributed it in March, 1965, they were immediately rearrested. No one was surprised, for the document was a devastating indictment—couched in impeccable Marxist terms—of Poland under Gomulka: "To whom does power belong in our state?" the authors asked. "To one monopolistic party—The Polish United Workers' Party . . . The decisions of the elite are independent, free of any control on the part of the working class and of the remaining classes and social strata."

The Poland which Modzelewski and Kuron described and analyzed with a wealth of statistical and other evidence is, in fact, the familiar Stalinist system—which Communist leaders and wishful thinkers in the West insist was swept away in the cleansing aftermath of the 1956 Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. But it was the authors' conclusion that was intolerable to the authorities: "In view of the impossibility of overcoming the economic and social crisis within the framework of the bureaucratic system, revolution is inevitable." Modzelewski and Kuron were tried in July, 1965, behind closed doors, with the courthouse surrounded by a tense crowd of students. They were sentenced to three and a half and three years respectively.

This, however, was far from the end of the affair. Modzelewski and Kuron had been voluntarily defended in court by some of the most esteemed figures of Polish intellectual life: Antoni Slonimski, the dean of Polish writers, and Professors Tadeusz Kotarbinski, Leopold Infeld, and Leszek Kolakowski. It was Kolakowski who occupied the center of the stage. His reputation and popularity as a champion of intellectual and political freedom—and as Poland's leading Marxist philosopher—was established in the "Polish October" of 1956. He was one who rallied the intellectuals and students behind Gomulka and the ideal of rebuilding Polish Communism on an ethical, libertarian, and humanistic foundation.

Today his fiery declarations of ten years ago may well seem naive—not least to Kola-

July 3, 1968

kowski himself—but at the time they conveyed hope. In his ideological credo, published in 1957, Kolakowski argued that the true Communist's place was on the side of the oppressed and the persecuted: "No one is exempt from the moral duty to fight against a system or rule, a doctrine or social conditions which he considers to be vile and inhuman, by resorting to the argument that he considers them historically necessary." Through the sad years of Gomulka's gradual repudiation of all that he seemed to represent in 1956, Professor Kolakowski had retreated into semi-passivity. The case of Modzelewski and Kuron forced him again to face up to the dilemma of the idealistic Communist in a repressive Communist state.

It is at this point that young Peter Raina enters the story. Dr. Raina was a devoted admirer of Kolakowski, and he unhesitatingly joined his professor in protesting the sentences given the two teachers.

Last year, the party leadership decided to stamp out student unrest and began a series of repressive measures directed against Warsaw University; a number of students were expelled, new disciplinary rules were introduced, party control was tightened. The restrictions brought a wave of even more vociferous indignation. Protest meetings were held, delegations dispatched, signatures collected. There were noisy scenes at the 1966 May Day demonstration.

In the meantime, ever-increasing pressure was being applied to Leszek Kolakowski. In March, 1966, he was summoned before the party Control Commission and called upon to submit a declaration retracting his views. Despite a grueling interrogation, he remained obdurate. The climax came on October 21, the tenth anniversary of the uprising that had swept Gomulka to power. A commemorative meeting was held in the history department of the university, at which Kolakowski spoke for about half an hour. His message, as reported in a Polish paper in London, was on the order of an obituary of freedom in his country:

"Genuine democracy is lacking here. There is very little public choice of the leaders. Thus, the leadership, which is not really elected, becomes conceited, self-assured. There is no opposition; hence there is no confrontation between those who are in power and those who are without. . . .

"The Government does not feel responsible to the nation. The system of privileges is prevalent. These privileges exist for a few outside the law. . . . Public criticism is lacking. Free assembly is nonexistent. Censorship is extremely severe. . . .

"All this has weakened society, for there is no perspective, no hope. The state, the party, the society are the victims of stagnation. There is therefore nothing to celebrate."

Speaker after speaker rose to reiterate the main points of this comprehensive indictment. Among them was Peter Raina. Two resolutions were moved: one demanding the introduction of freedom of speech and the abolition of censorship and political repression, the other calling for the immediate release of Modzelewski and Kuron. Although the motions were not allowed to be put to a vote, the thunderous acclaim with which they were received spoke for itself.

UNITY IN PROTEST

Next day Professor Kolakowski was summarily expelled from the party. In the following few days his assistant was also expelled, six students were suspended, and seven others were sent before the university's disciplinary commission. A systematic campaign of calumny was mounted with the object of discrediting Kolakowski, who was accused of being "a tool in the hands of the imperialists."

On November 15, the university organization of the Communist Party held a general meeting; it was addressed by Zenon Kliszko—the secretary of the Central Committee, the

chief party theoretician, and Gomulka's second-in-command—and by Stanislaw Kocioltek, first secretary of the Warsaw committee of the party. Kliszko trotted out all the clichés about the perils of revisionism; Kocioltek went straight to the point: "I am against discussions, dialogues, and seminars. The unity of the party is supreme. Discipline is the cardinal principle of the life of the party." Instead of giving the expected dutiful assent, the assembled university Communists launched an attack on the party's leadership. Kliszko, driven into a corner, protested: "I didn't come to this meeting to present any explanations. I came to listen to them." Similar stormy scenes were repeated at party meetings held in other leading cultural institutions. The intelligentsia clearly was getting out of hand.

The conflict spread fast. On November 25, fifteen writers, all active members of the party and regular contributors to official periodicals, sent a letter to the Central Committee expressing their solidarity with Professor Kolakowski and demanding his reinstatement. The response of the party bureaucracy remained doctrinaire—and ineffective. The writers were summoned to the Central Committee, where, one by one, they refused to withdraw their protest. Six of them, including prewar Communists, driven at length into rebellion against the beliefs of a lifetime, resigned from the party. Seven others were suspended. Nor was the party leadership any more successful in its dealings with the Writers' Union as a whole. At a special meeting of the party organization of the union's Warsaw sections (numbering about a hundred members) that was convened to condemn the actions of Kolakowski and his supporters, only one speaker supported the official line.

It would be wrong to assume that all those who joined this broad front of intellectual dissent necessarily subscribe to Modzelewski's or Kolakowski's views. The principle that unites them is opposition to the stifling system of Communist conformity, to the totalitarian controls over thought and speech and writing, to the subjugation of the intellect and the prostitution of culture. Yet as the history of Communism—whether in Poland, the Soviet Union, or any other "socialist" state—has shown, the party cannot afford to compromise this control. The result it has achieved in Poland has been the successive alienation of the intellectual community, and with every new purge the area of revolt grows wider.

Peter Raina's letter to the Minister of Interior Affairs summed up the sense of betrayal.

"A few days ago," he wrote, "when I went to the militia headquarters in order to have my visa extended, I was greatly surprised by the decision of the militia not to extend my stay in Poland. I was aghast at the motivation of this decision, namely that I have a hostile attitude toward Poland. . . .

"For the first time in my life I came against a case when the control of university life was exercised by secret agents of the Ministry of Interior Affairs. . . .

"I never had any treacherous intentions towards Poland. I always defended Polish interests. I published abroad letters which criticized foreign correspondents for their lack of understanding of Poland. I endeavored within the limits of my possibilities to spread Polish culture through numerous translations of Polish literature. I feel, therefore, greatly injured by the mendacious accusations formulated against me by the Ministry of Interior Affairs. I am writing to you that thanks to the activity of agents of the Ministry of Interior Affairs at the university, everybody is governed by fear and one cannot behave normally and calmly at seminars and meetings. I am ashamed for the university and its leadership that things have come to such a pass that low and dirty methods

are applied to students, methods that recall the times of fascism and its terror. Methods applied to me during the last few days at the militia headquarters (to wit, the denial of any possibility of explaining things) recall to my mind the methods of Stalinism.

"... the events of the last days convinced me that all the ministries, the university, the whole cultural life, the political parties, the parliament, were subject to orders of the Ministry of the Interior Affairs from which there was no appeal and that nobody had the courage to dare even to make a rightful protest against unjust treatment."

A fair description of a country which was only recently being advertised as a showplace of "liberal" Communism—and a melancholy epitaph to the illusions of an idealist who learned about Communism the hard way.

[From the Baltimore Sun, May 22, 1968]

POLISH ANTI-SEMITISM CALLED COVERUP FOR STATE CRISIS

(By Stuart S. Smith)

PRAGUE, May 21.—Polish Communist party leaders are deliberately promoting anti-semitic agitation in the guise of a fight against Zionism to cover up a "serious crisis" that threatens to destroy the State according to a responsible Czechoslovak journal.

The Gomulka regime seems to be incapable of mastering the nation's deep divisions, it added, and there is a grave danger that police oppression used to silence the increasing dissatisfaction will cause an explosion.

The comment was contained in the third and final part of a lengthy analysis of the current Warsaw malaise published in the latest issue of *Literarni Listy*, the Czechoslovak Writers' Union weekly.

The piece appeared despite an earlier formal Polish protest that Czechoslovak journalists have been slandering Poland by accusing it of anti-Semitism. The Poles charged, too, that the Czechoslovak newspapers had been relying too heavily on Western media for their reports.

The article's author, Jiri Lederer, visited Poland earlier this year and talked extensively with numerous journalists and other persons familiar with public life there.

He said all those who are participating in the campaign against Zionism swear that it has nothing to do with anti-Semitism. In practice, however, "it looks quite different," Lederer asserted.

Whether the party leaders wanted it or not, a wave of anti-Semitism has appeared and made many Poles ashamed of their country.

Among the Polish "citizens of Jewish origin," the agitation prompted a wave of fear for their existence—in the very nation in which the Nazi extermination policy had been the most successful, he said.

PROPAGANDA FOSTERED

Lederer charged that anti-Zionist propaganda is being particularly vigorously fostered by Pax, a Government-sponsored Catholic organization whose chairman, Boleslaw Pisecki, was active in the National Radical Camp, a pre-World War II nationalist and anti-Semitic political organization.

Fortunately, however, the Polish population has stayed aloof from the anti-Zionist campaign, Lederer reported. He attributed this to widespread hatred of the regime and its Police-state terrorist tactics.

Two months ago five members of the Polish Parliament challenged the Government to put a stop to its degrading brutality. The five deputies, who are members of Znak, a twelve-year-old Catholic organization which has nothing to do with Pax, accused the Gomulka regime's security forces of abusing numerous persons arrested during the March student demonstrations and "torturing" many people, including young girls.

With a certain irony, Lederer recalled that a dozen years ago Wladislaw Gomulka, who had just taken over as the Polish party

leader, was accused of being a traitor to socialism, much as Gomulka's followers now cite the new Czechoslovak leaders on the same charge.

None the less, Lederer said, after they assumed power in 1956, Gomulka and his associates took over the old political traditions left over from the Stalinist days instead of reforming the system, and by now a "profound degeneration" has developed and the "ruling party is undergoing a crisis."

LACK OF FREEDOMS

"There is a great lack of democratic freedoms," and a "modern democratic conception of a Socialist society" does not exist in Poland today, he charged.

The Government's use of Zionism as the alleged inspirer of the dissatisfaction among the people is a substitute for a real analysis of the country's political and social problems and "distracts attention," from the real issues at hand, Lederer commented.

What is more, he asserted, Gomulka "is losing his authority of the party apparatus" to Mieczyslaw Moczar, the Interior Minister, whom Lederer accused of trying to solve all the nation's difficulties by the use of terror.

"Such a policy, however, cannot remove all the dissatisfaction," he stated. "It can only silence it temporarily. Then a serious danger could arise that this discontent could reappear in a more explosive form."

[From the New York Times, Feb. 18, 1968]
WRITERS DISPUTE PARTY IN POLAND—SHOWDOWN APPEARS AT HAND OVER RULE OF REGIME

WARSAW, February 17.—Recent interference by the Communist party in Polish cultural life appears to be provoking a showdown between the normally complacent intellectual community and an increasingly nervous party leadership.

Indicative of the intellectuals' new mood of militance was a decision this week by the Warsaw section of the Polish Writers Union to hold, before the end of this month, the first extraordinary meeting in its 48-year history.

More than 230 Communist and non-Communist writers overcame their political differences to sign a petition requesting the meeting to protest the party's decision that ended performances of a classic anti-Russian play by the 19th-century romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz.

Major importance is attached to the meeting because, if past performance is any guide, it should provide a rare semipublic forum for airing the intellectual community's accumulated complaints.

AUDIENCE PROTESTED

Both before and after "Dziady" ("The Forefathers") was closed amid angry audience protests on Jan. 30, the party showed its nervousness in dealing with the intellectuals.

Last week, party censors abruptly canceled performances of a prewar avant-garde play, "Gyubal Wahazar," the day before it was scheduled to open at the Nardowy Theater, where "Dziady" had also been performed.

The play, by the late Stanislas Ignacy Witkiewicz, was described in an official theater publication as a "protest against all tyrannies." It ends with the secret police chief assassinating the dictator.

Censors are reported to be insisting that the name of the Nardowy production now in rehearsal be changed before it can open. The original title of the play, a nonpolitical turn-of-the-century comedy, is "Ciezkle Czasy," or "Oppressive Times."

TRIAL IS CLOSED

Observers also credit party nervousness with the current trial of the literary critic Janusz Szpotanski, who is accused of harming state interests by writing and privately

performing a satiric operetta, Cisi i Gegagze, ("The Silent and the Honkers.")

Some Communist sources are worried that the writers union will stray from complaints about censorship to political polemics, which could further estrange the party and the intellectual community.

A number of leading Polish intellectuals, many of them Jews, have resigned from the Communist party since the Middle Eastern conflict last June amid charges that the leadership used the war as a pretext to shut off discussion.

Other signs of intellectual unrest are reflected in reports that actors and Warsaw University students have signed petitions condemning the closing of "Dziady." But both Communist and non-Communist writers are chary about predicting that the Writers Union meeting will produce any significant liberalization of party attitudes.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Feb. 20, 1968]
WRITER JAILED AS POLAND STEPS UP STALINIST PURGE—OPERA SPOOF

WARSAW, February 19.—A 34-year-old literary critic was sentenced today to three years in prison for writing a comic opera spoofing leading Polish personalities ranging from politicians to cardinals.

Janusz Szpotanski was found guilty of "preparing and disseminating false or derogatory writings or other materials deemed detrimental to the interests of the state."

The verdict and sentencing were read in open court, but the motivation for the decision was given after the courtroom had been cleared of spectators.

SECRET SESSIONS

The trial began February 5 and was open to the public. In the six sessions that followed until the conclusion today, the trial was held behind closed doors.

Szpotanski's opera tapes had been making the rounds of private parties for a few years.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Feb. 20, 1968]
WRITER JAILED AS POLAND STEPS UP STALINIST PURGE—POLICE STATE
(By Stuart S. Smith)

BONN, February 19.—Poland has fallen back into the status of a reactionary police state, Western observers said today.

The once liberal Gomulka regime has in recent months made use of threats, arrests and political trials to harass both the party rank and file and the population at large, they say.

The principal instigator of this repression is said to be Mieczyslaw Moczar, the Polish Interior Minister and head of the secret police. Moczar is, at the same time, leader of a Stalinist party faction called the Partisans, which for years has been trying to undermine the position of the liberals who helped bring Wladislaw Gomulka, the Polish Communist party secretary to power in 1956.

The fact that anti-Partisan elements have been the chief losers in the recent reshuffles and have been replaced by men close to Moczar indicates the Interior Minister is getting the upper hand.

For sometime now the Polish press, radio and television have been conducting a propaganda campaign, warning the population against contacts with the "imperialist" West. Regular denunciations of not only the United States but also West Germany are standard fare.

This contrasts with the attitudes of Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria, which now have good relations with West Germany. Also Hungary and Czechoslovakia are taking slow but positive steps toward improving communications with the Federal Republic and other Western Nations.

ANTI-SEMITISM

The Polish propaganda, which contains a considerable amount of anti-Semitism, is

being supported by a series of spy trials, which have been given wide publicity in an obvious effort to scare the citizenry.

Western journalists encounter great difficulty in entering Poland, although they may travel freely throughout Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Romania and do not even need visas to enter Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

Polish censors, who once tolerated much Government criticism, are now among the harshest in Communist Europe.

Numerous theater pieces have been canceled and books and magazine pieces banned in the past few months. Only the most obedient writers have been able to obtain good commissions.

MIDEAST WAR

Moczar's purges have been directed against all liberal groups, but last summer's Arab-Israeli confrontation provided him with an excellent weapon to use against Communist party Jews, most of whom opposed Moczar's Partisan movement.

Although Jews have for many decades played an important role in Polish party affairs today there are few if any left in responsible positions.

The Polish leadership's ever closer relationship to Soviet policy runs against the trend among other European Communist nations, with the exception of East Germany, which are seeking as independent a political status as their economic dependency upon Russia will allow.

Why the Polish leadership feels so insecure that it must turn back the clock and reapply terrorist methods is difficult to say, but new acts of oppression or even the continuation of the present conditions can only further embarrass the country's more liberal Communist allies in Southeast Europe.

TWO JAILED IN POLAND

WARSAW, February 19.—A West German was sentenced to 6½ years in prison and a Pole to 9 years in Szczecin, northwest Poland, today for alleged hostile political activity on orders from two West German religious organizations.

Eugan Schrabatke, a West German, and Alfred Kipper, a Pole from Szczecin, carried out their activities in areas Poland took from Germany after the World War II, the provincial court said.

In its judgment, the court stressed the men's full consciousness of their activities against the Polish state and in the interest of the West German "revisionist" church organizations Kirchendianst Ost and Evangelisches Hilfswerk, according to the Polish news agency Pap.

The court said the regret Schrabatke expressed during the trial mitigated his offense.

The indictment said that under the guise of helping German nationals still living in the former German areas the two organizations aimed at encouraging the belief that the present Polish-German frontier was not permanent.

The accused were alleged to have slandered Poland while pretending to help German nationalists of evangelical faith in northwest Poland.

They were charged with collecting and sending information to West Berlin, and West Germany about life and people in the western Pomeranian region around Szczecin, including lists of persons supposed to be needing help.

They were also charged with illegal currency manipulations and other financial offenses.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 10, 1968]
POLISH STUDENTS IN 2d DAY OF RIOTS—TEAR GAS AND CLUBS ARE USED BY POLICE TO COMBAT BRICKS—TWO ARRESTS REPORTED

(By Jonathan Randal)

WARSAW, March 9.—Polish students shouting "Long live Czechoslovakia!" fought steel-helmeted police here today for the second day.

July 3, 1968

The fighting began when students threw bricks and bottles. The police replied by lobbing tear gas shells. Some students were beaten with rubber truncheons.

The students' shouts apparently alluded to the promises for greater democracy that have been made by the new Czechoslovak leadership since Alexander Dubcek replaced Antonin Novotny as First Secretary Jan. 5.

Spokesmen for the police and the Polish Government said they had "no information" on the number of students that have been arrested during the two days of rioting at Warsaw University and the Polytechnic school.

Informed sources said the police arrested Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski last night. They are teaching assistants at Warsaw University, who in 1965 were imprisoned for having distributed pamphlets that criticized the lack of democracy for the Communist party here.

Unlike the rioting yesterday, which was limited to the Warsaw University campus, the clashes spilled directly into the streets, which were littered with bricks, broken glass, stones and newspapers.

POLICE ACTION PROTESTED

The rioting, which saw policemen and civilian auxiliaries hunt down students in apartment houses, doorways and on church steps, began today when Polytechnic students marched out of school grounds after a protest meeting.

At the meeting the students condemned the violation of the university's traditional autonomy by policemen and civilian auxiliaries yesterday and demanded the release of students arrested earlier.

Tonight the state-controlled Warsaw television network broadcast a statement that denied persistent rumors that a girl student had died from injuries received in the clash with the police yesterday.

The rioting started when Warsaw University students met to demand the reinstatement of two students expelled after being arrested last Jan. 31 for demonstrating against the closing of a classic Polish play by Adam Mickiewicz, a 19th-century poet. The play, depicting Polish suffering, contains lines that could be interpreted as criticism of the Soviet Union today.

The students also expressed their solidarity with the Warsaw branch of the Writers' Union which last week condemned the closing of the play, "Dziady" ("The Forefathers"), and called for a relaxation of censorship.

MARCH ON NEWSPAPER

Today, led by a student carrying a red and white Polish flag, some 3,000 students marched in the direction of the offices of Zycie Warszawy, a Government-controlled newspaper that had criticized them as "scum." Near Workers Unity Square, the students were met by policemen who demanded that they disperse.

Among the slogans the students shouted were "More democracy!" "Down with censorship!" "Gestapo!" "Down with the lying press!" and "Down with Moczar!" Gen. Mieczyslaw Moczar is the Interior Minister and chief of the secret police.

Later, some two miles away, police auxiliaries used truncheons to beat students who were standing on the steps of the Church of the Holy Cross, across the street from the main university entrance. Other students sought sanctuary inside the church, where composer Frederic Chopin's heart is buried.

The police and auxiliaries were brought in by the truckload. Traffic patrolmen cordoned off streets for several hours to contain the rioting near the Polytechnic School.

The student rioting was the most serious clash with authority since October 1957, when the Polytechnic School and university students fought police for three days to protest against the closing of an outspoken student magazine, Po Prostu.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 12, 1968] THOUSANDS IN POLAND FIGHT POLICE AS PROTEST MOUNTS (By Jonathan Randal)

WARSAW, March 11.—Tens of thousands of Poles clashed with policemen in front of Communist party headquarters and at the statue of the national poet, Adam Mickiewicz, today.

For the first time adults joined university students and teen-agers in the wave of protests against stringent Communist party control of cultural affairs. The participation of adults altered the character of the demonstrations, which began last Friday.

The disturbances sought to protest, among other things, the closing of Mickiewicz's classic anti-tsarist play, "Dziady" ("The Forefathers").

Demonstrators sacked a building of the Culture Ministry in the central section of the capital and fought policemen with debris and broken furniture, Reuters reported. Militiamen battling demonstrators outside Warsaw University were met with chants of "Gestapo! Gestapo!" as they waded forward with flailing clubs.

For almost eight hours, policemen, worker militiamen and civilian police auxiliaries fought with the demonstrators in the third day of violence unequalled since 1957. Then serious rioting followed the closing of the liberal student magazine Po Prostu.

Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, Roman Catholic Primate of Poland, canceled a schedule sermon "to avoid worsening the situation." The cancellation was announced to an overflow crowd in St. Ann's Cathedral, which reeked of tear-gas grenades tossed by the police.

Workers and militiamen used rubber truncheons to beat churchgoers on the cathedral's steps, which, like many Warsaw streets, were littered with tear-gas canisters, broken glass, bricks and paving stones.

Meanwhile, Slowo Powszechne, newspaper of Pax, the pro-Communist Roman Catholic lay movement, suggested that the demonstrations had been led by Zionists. It listed the names of some of the students arrested, almost all of whom are Jews.

P.A.P., the Polish press agency, reported that one sign carried at a Communist party meeting at the Zeran automobile factory read, "Clean the Zionists out of the party."

During most of the day and early evening, demonstrators seemingly ranged at will, shouting "Gestapo!" "Democracy!" "Constitution!" "Warsaw with us!" and "Moczar's valets!" at the police, Mieczyslaw's Moczar is the Interior Minister and chief of the secret police.

The demonstrators threw paving stones and bricks at the helmeted policemen, who charged with truncheons and fired tear-gas grenades and, for the first time in the current outbreak, used a truck armed with a water gun to disperse them.

Time and time again demonstrators slipped through side streets and emerged red-eyed and weeping to taunt the police.

Most of the fighting took place along Nowy Swiat and its continuation, Krakowskie Przedmiescie, which for more than a mile forms one of Warsaw's main thoroughfares.

Shortly before 4 P.M., when most Warsaw offices and factories had closed for the day, tens of thousands of people suddenly gathered in Nowy Swiat. Virtually unopposed by small detachments of policemen and large numbers of worker's militiamen, they surged along the street.

On their way they burned copies of the principal newspapers, which had continued their denunciations of the student demonstrators, characterizing them as hooligans and "Well-to-do youths with political ambitions."

Only when the crowd neared the gray, forbidding building that, since its erection during the Stalin era, has housed the United

Worker's party Central Committee did the police make serious attempts to stop it.

There the fighting, which lasted for more than two hours, was watched by a dozen men and women standing on the party's sixth-floor terrace.

The crowd finally dispersed—and the main streets were partly opened.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 12, 1968] PRAGUE PARTY CHIEF DENIES HE ISSUED STATEMENTS

PRAGUE, March 11.—The head of the Communist party in Prague, Martin Vaculik, expressed his regrets that antiliberal statements by his organization had been "imprecise" and "misunderstood."

He asserted on television that he was a progressive but acknowledged that in the party power struggle early this year he supported President Antonin Novotny.

A few hours earlier, the Ministry of Interior apologized to students in Prague for the police violence employed against them last Oct. 31, during a demonstration against living conditions in dormitories.

Placing full responsibility on the police for the incident and promising that seven policemen would be punished, the Ministry insisted that neither the Communist party nor state officials bore any responsibility for the mistreatment of the students.

The Prague city Communist organization was criticized at weekend meetings of several of Prague's borough organizations. The attacks were aimed at the city leaders' statement last Friday warning against overhasty changes in Communist party policy and against alleged "one-sidedness" of the communications media, which were accused of having disseminated radical ideas and even of mocking fundamental Communist concepts.

At one meeting, the city leaders were accused of having tried to dictate the line to be taken by the local conferences, having waited until the local organizations expressed their own opinions before issuing a citywide statement.

At another borough, a resolution was adopted condemning the city organization's statement, while at a meeting of Communists of Prague universities, disagreement was voiced with the city groups' charge that the communications media were one-sided.

Tonight, Mr. Vaculik pleaded that the prevailing opinion that his leadership was conservative was mistaken, and that the widespread belief that his organization's statement was against freedom of the press was wrong. He argued that he was opposed to radical and extreme statements.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Mar. 12, 1968]

YOUTHS RIOT AT POLAND'S PARTY OFFICE— STUDENTS YELL "GESTAPO" DURING 7-HOUR FIGHT OVER CENSORSHIP

WARSAW, March 11.—Students shouting "freedom" and "democracy" marched on Communist party headquarters in Warsaw today and battled police for more than seven hours in the worst rioting in Poland in eleven years.

Student taunts of "Gestapo, Gestapo" rang out repeatedly as several thousand demonstrators clashed with truncheon-wielding police in running battles on downtown streets. The Gestapo was the secret police in Nazi Germany.

The unrest, which flared into weekend riots, had smoldered since early in January when censors construed lines in a play as anti-Soviet.

FROM WINDOWS

Communist party members and workers watched from the windows of the headquarters building as the riot surged below.

Tear gas cylinders soared through the air and often were tossed back at the police.

July 3, 1968

Rocks, sticks, bottles and bricks were sent flying toward the police ringing the building.

Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, Poland's Catholic primate and long an opponent of the Communist regime, canceled a sermon at St. Ann's Church near the university because of the violence outside the church doors.

The cardinal said he would not speak, to "avoid worsening the situation."

WORST SINCE 1957

The disorders were the worst since 1957 when protests over the closing of a student magazine erupted into three days of disturbances.

The press today blamed all the trouble on Zionists working for an "alliance between West Germany and Israel" by undermining "the authority of Poland's leadership."

Packed streetcars and buses were brought to a halt by the action today. The acrid blue smoke from the tear gas filled the jammed intersection where the building is located. The scene resembled a battlefield.

Women screamed insults at police clubbing youths with truncheons. Other passers-by rubbed eyes made red by the tear gas.

Police finally managed to disperse the shouting crowd.

It was the third outbreak of violence in Warsaw since student demonstrations began last Friday at the downtown campus of Warsaw University. On Saturday, police and youths clashed again near the Polytechnic University.

As on Saturday, the harsh police measures appeared to have been set off by rock-throwing youths.

Friday's violence began after a protest against expulsion of two Warsaw University students on the ground they took part in a demonstration January 1 protesting forced closure of the popular play which had some lines construed as anti-Soviet. Saturday's demonstrations protested police measures used the day before.

[From the Evening Star, March 14, 1968]

PROTEST OF STUDENTS IN POLAND SPREADS

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

Poland's student-led demonstrations have spread to at least eight cities outside of Warsaw and have picked up moral support from Czechoslovakia's newly liberalized student organizations.

The demonstrations, many of which have led to clashes with police, began as a simple protest meeting in Warsaw last week but have escalated steadily, due in part to the way Polish authorities have handled the matter.

Almost from the start, the Communist party press and radio blamed the demonstrations on Jews, international Zionism, liberals and anti-socialist elements.

And the media have refused to acknowledge the students' major grievance—the expulsion of two students from Warsaw University for participating in a protest against the forced closing of a popular, if somewhat anti-Russian play.

WARSAW TENSE

The situation in Warsaw, where steel-helmeted police are on the ready, has remained quiet but tense for the past two days, diplomatic sources report. This is in contrast to the open clashes on some of the Polish capital's downtown streets last Friday and Saturday.

But student groups in other important Polish cities have been protesting in support of the Warsaw demonstrations.

Many of these marches have been aimed at the rather crude way the authorities have handled the situation. The protesters have carried posters saying such things as "The Press Lies," "Down With Censorship" and "Warsaw Is Not Alone."

At last report, demonstrations have been held in Krakow, the ancient capital of Po-

land and the nation's leading college town; Gliwice, Gdansk (Danzig), Lublin, Wroclaw (Breslau), Lodz, Poznan and Szczecin (Stettin).

KRAKOW PROTEST

Unconfirmed reports say that in Krakow, where Poland's oldest university Jagiellonian, is located, force was used to disperse some 3,000 marchers.

In Poznan, where riots in 1956 touched off Poland's liberalizing revolution, there were reports that police also used force to break up a smaller demonstration.

According to UPI, a meeting of 8,000 students was held yesterday in Warsaw to air grievances, and one of Warsaw University's officials, Prof. Dionizy Smolenski, reportedly agreed that the police actions and press coverage were "two sad things" and be admitted that "sometimes the militia exceeds the limits of their power."

Among the complaints aired were that more than 200 students still are being detained by police—another 150 were released.

At the meeting, the students also demanded freedom of assembly and speech, punishment of the university official who summoned police to the university last Friday and guarantees against future police invasion of the grounds.

WIDE PUBLICITY

The student resolution also said that the students were in favor of socialism and declared that they were not allied with either Zionist or Semitic causes.

In Prague, where a change in party leadership has brought rapid liberalization, the press is giving wide publicity to the Polish demonstrations, and indicating support for the Polish liberals.

The student organization at Charles University in Prague has sent a message of support to Warsaw for the student demands.

The immediate cause of the unrest was a well-known Polish play, "Dziady" ("The Forefathers' Eve"), written by the 19th century romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz who is something of a national hero in Poland.

PLAY STIRS UNREST

On Nov. 25, Kazimierz Dejmek, one of Warsaw's most talented directors, put on a new version of the play in the National Theater. Audiences began to pay special note to the political aspects of the play, which depicts, in part, oppression of Poles by Tsarist police and officials.

There were laughs and applause at such lines as "The only things Moscow sends us are jackasses, idiots and spies."

For reasons still unknown, the Polish authorities, who generally are fairly lenient in theatrical censorship, closed the play on Jan. 30.

News about the suspension was widely known in Poland and top cultural figures as well as many students attended the last performance. After the final curtain, there was a demonstration against censorship. About 200 students marched to a Mickiewicz monument and about 50 were arrested.

Two Jewish students were expelled for their role in the march.

Three weeks ago, the Warsaw chapter of the Polish Writers Union held a meeting, and despite efforts by hardliners to prevent it, the majority passed a resolution asking for restoration of Dejmek's production and an end to censorship.

WARSAW UNIVERSITY

Last Friday, a meeting was called on the campus of Warsaw University to protest the expulsion of the two students and this led to police efforts to disperse the crowds, fights and injuries. For the next three days, Warsaw underwent a series of incidents, with many injuries.

Prominent in the official response has been the emphasis put on "Zionist sympathizers." The attack on Zionists has been going on

with little letup since the Arab-Israel war last June. In the aftermath, almost all of Warsaw's intellectuals have been at odds with the party leadership decision to break relations with Israel.

As a result of the disputes over the war, party hardliners, apparently led by Interior Minister Mieczyslaw Moczar, have been purging party liberals who show any sympathy with Israel or who are Jewish. There are only about 20,000 Jews in Poland, but many are in middle levels of the party.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 20, 1968]

CRACOW STUDENTS STAGE A SIT-IN; CZECH PRIVATE DEFIES A GENERAL—GOMULKA SPEECH IGNORED

(By Jonathan Randal)

WARSAW, March 20.—Students in Cracow pointedly ignored today an appeal by the Communist leader, Wladyslaw Gomulka, for an immediate return to classes. They staged a sit-in at Jagiellonian University.

In a further indication that the students were not satisfied with Mr. Gomulka's promise yesterday of eventual consideration of their grievances, 3,000 of them at the Warsaw Polytechnic School voted to begin a 48-hour sit-in tomorrow morning.

Warsaw University students will join the sit-in, according to a student delegate at the strike meeting held this afternoon at the Polytechnic School.

The Warsaw sit-in reflected warnings by the students that they would take other defiant measures unless the regime published their 15-point resolution and corrected "slandorous" press accounts of previous demonstrations by Tuesday midnight.

The Polytechnic meeting demanded that students be allowed to discuss their problems on the radio and television, controlled by the regime.

Symptomatic of the student's mood at the meeting was the tearing up of newspapers. The newspapers' main interest today was the text of Mr. Gomulka's speech to Warsaw party members.

Some student sources suggested that a factor in the students' renewed defiance was Mr. Gomulka's criticism of "revisionist" liberal professors at Warsaw University as the "spiritual instigators" of the student unrest. Many professors named are Jews.

Mr. Gomulka dropped similar charges against Zionists and former Stalinists, apparently in an effort to keep within bounds the anti-Zionist campaign that he obliquely conceded had anti-semitic overtones.

The Polish party has applied the name "Zionists" to instigators of the student demonstrations.

Although Mr. Gomulka stressed that no professors had lost tenure because of their "academic views," he indicated that changes might be under consideration. He said the regime "displayed considerable—and as experience has shown, unfortunately, too great—restraint and caution in interfering for political reasons with the life of academic circles."

In Cracow, the sit-in involved students sitting in corridors and not attending lectures, informed sources said. It followed a five-day classroom boycott during which some parents had been warned that their children would be expelled unless they returned to school, the informants added.

At the Polytechnic meeting, a message was read from workers at a rolling-stock factory in Wroclaw, the sources said. The message expressed solidarity with student demands.

In Wroclaw, newspapers disclosed that classroom boycotts or sit-ins took place at all eight institutions of higher learning there last Thursday and Friday. Only students of the School of Plastic Arts did not return to classes normally on Saturday, according to the newspapers, which added that "hooligans" had been responsible for violence there on Friday.

July 3, 1968

Meanwhile, the anti-Zionist campaign evaporated today in the wake of Mr. Gomulka's speech, which sought to moderate a 10-day campaign that apparently had the party's blessing.

In its place, there were pledges of support for "Comrade Wlasiak," as Mr. Gomulka is affectionately called, as well as confusion among many Poles who were surprised at the moderate tone of his remarks.

In some quarters the excited shouts that accompanied Mr. Gomulka's remarks on Polish Jews and the chanting of the name of Edward Gierek were interpreted as reflecting the popularity of the anti-Zionist campaign.

Mr. Gierek, the party secretary in Industrial Silesia, had made a strongly anti-Zionist day and is sometimes mentioned as a possible successor to Mr. Gomulka.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 22, 1968]
STUDENTS' SIT-IN OPENS IN WARSAW—MOVEMENT SPREADS DESPITE EXPULSION WARNINGS
(By Jonathan Randal)

WARSAW, March 21.—Warsaw students today joined a sit-in movement underway at Cracow despite threats of expulsion unless they resumed normal studies.

Students took up quarters at the Polytechnic School at 8 A.M. at the start of a 48-hour sit-in. Tonight as many as 5,000 were playing cards listening to Chopin on tape recorders and preparing to bed down with blankets brought to the school premises, student sources said.

At Warsaw University all gates were locked, apparently by order of the university authorities. Nonetheless, several hundred students were milling around the grounds and some scaled spiked fences to enter university property. Many hundred other students, some wearing white student caps and carrying bundles, were seen leaving the university area, apparently because of the lockout.

The sit-in took place despite printed official posters on the doors of the university and the Polytechnic School doors warning of "serious consequences," including expulsion unless the students stopped disorganizing school work.

SIGNED BY RECTORS

The posters were signed by the institutions' respective rectors, Stanislaw Turski and Dionizy Smolenski.

For the first time since the student unrest began two weeks ago, the state-controlled television network reported the new developments promptly.

"A small group of political troublemakers incited students not to attend classes at the Polytechnic School," a news bulletin said at 11 P.M. "Unhappily a certain number of students listened to them."

Informed sources said the Government was considering closing the Polytechnic School for two weeks and drafting male students into the armed forces if the rector's appeal went unheeded.

In Cracow, where students boycotted classes at Jagiellonian University last Thursday, the sit-in completed its second day. Students remained in the hallways of university buildings and did not attend lectures.

The sit-ins are being held to protest against the regime's refusal to answer students' grievances quickly. These grievances focus on charges of police brutality, insistence on rectification of "slandorous" Polish press accounts and demands to free arrested students.

Wladyslaw Gomulka, the Communist party leader, appealed to students two days ago to return to work immediately and promised eventual consideration of their grievances once calm had been restored.

COLLECTION TAKEN UP

Tonight adults passed food and cigarettes to Polytechnic students across an iron fence.

Student leaders have organized a kitty of 5,000 zlotys (\$200) to supply blankets, food and even candles should the school's lights be turned off.

In the school, students gathered around a Dixieland pianist who was playing in the main auditorium. They also listened to Western news broadcasts.

Although the warnings from the rector of the Polytechnic school had been stern, one of his assistants simply asked them not to cause trouble.

Student leaders issued orders against bringing vodka or any other hard liquor to the Polytechnic sit-in, sources said. Some students were seen drinking beer.

The state-controlled television network tonight announced the arrest of the son of Mieczyslaw Lesz, the former Internal Commerce Minister, who is now deputy chairman of the Committee for Science and Technology.

Officially charged with spreading false information, his son, Aleksander, was attacked in a newspaper article last week for allegedly having smashed an official car while drunk. The newspaper, Warka Mlodych, charged that his father had hushed up the accident.

At the Polytechnic School, windows were thrown wide open on this first warm day, which coincided with the beginning of spring.

Chalked on a classroom blackboard was a sign announcing "night resident." On the statue of a woman on the facade of the main building hung an enormous sign that read "straik okupacyjny," the closest equivalent to "sit-in" in Polish.

[From the Baltimore Sun, March 25, 1968]
STUDENT AIM IS FREEDOM, POLAND'S EPISCOPATE SAYS

WARSAW, March 24.—The Catholic episcopate of Poland attributed student unrest in the country today to a "striving for truth and freedom."

In a message read in Sunday masses throughout the country, the church leadership suggested that the regime of Wladyslaw Gomulka acknowledge the desires of youth and adopt more progressive policies.

DIALOGUE URGED

"Pope Paul VI has written that the new name for peace is 'progress.' That is why we pray for this peace and we ask all to pray for this," the message said.

It added that "penetrating dialogue" should be employed instead of physical force to solve matters dividing people.

The message, drafted at a March 21 meeting of the episcopate, is to be read in all academic towns and "in the soonest possible time thereafter in all towns of Poland." The nation's population is about 85 per cent Catholic.

Students have been demonstrating practically non-stop since March 8. Their protests include charges of police brutality against demonstrators, false accounts in the state-controlled press, demands for release from jail of arrested student leaders and respect for the freedom to assemble and demonstrate as guaranteed in the Polish Constitution.

The church message said Polish bishops felt "obliged to make their voice heard in this matter."

FORCE IS CONDEMNED

It condemned the "brutal use of force" and said the church has "addressed in this matter . . . the Government of our state."

Three student sit-in demonstrations in defiance of school and Government authorities ended yesterday in Warsaw.

In the biggest one at Polytechnic College, about 4,000 students were persuaded by school officials to leave campus buildings during the night instead of carrying on to a planned morning conclusion.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 13, 1968]

WARSAW RIOTING SPREADS

(By Paul Wohl)

Broken bottles, stones, and bricks litter the streets of Warsaw. Three days of student riots have been put down with tear gas and rubber truncheons. One student was so badly hurt that the government felt the need to report that he was still alive.

"Gestapo!" the students cried defiantly as the police charged. "Down with obscurantism," "Long live Czechoslovakia," "Democracy," "Freedom," and "Constitution" were other cries heard during the demonstration.

Writers, students, actors, the old generation of intellectuals, and the new educated middle class of workers and peasant origin are tense. A mood of insurgency is rising in the capital.

[Several thousand demonstrators fought running battles with police on downtown streets for seven hours Monday, the Associated Press reported, and smashed the windows of a Culture Ministry building. The party headquarters was also a target of the demonstrations.]

[The Polish news agency PAP said the militia seized about 300 persons during Monday's disturbances, according to Reuters. It said an identity check revealed that only about 30 of those held were students.]

RESOLUTION PASSED

[Informed sources told the Associated Press that at a meeting at Warsaw University, about 3,000 students and a number of professors passed a resolution demanding freedom for students arrested after Friday's demonstration. The resolution, informants said, also carried an appeal to other Polish universities to support the Warsaw cause.]

[The resolution was said to demand in addition that the state-controlled press publish the students' accounts and explanation for their protest actions. The press said the trouble was caused by Zionists working for an "alliance between West Germany and Israel" by undermining "the authority of Poland's leadership."]

Wladyslaw Gomulka, the aging party chief whom Poland hailed 10 years ago as a symbol of renewal, never has been more unpopular. "He could have become Poland's Tito," this writer was told not so long ago; "he could have become Poland's de Gaulle; instead he has become Moscow's proconsul, a fear-ridden, heavyhanded bureaucrat."

Even those who see Mr. Gomulka's good sides, his evenness, his quiet insistence on orderly progress, on economy, sobriety, and order—characteristics which in the past were seldom associated with the Polish national temperament—feel that it is time for a change.

PUBLIC WELL INFORMED

The issue is not merely a personal one. In his obstinate resistance to change and his defense of the most pro-Soviet policy in the bloc, Mr. Gomulka was forced to lean on the support of hard-liners and cynical careerists, regardless of public opinion.

Polish public opinion today is better informed than it was in 1956 when the Stalinists were thrown out and Mr. Gomulka was swept into power. Sources of information have kept step with the progress of electronics. Today everyone in Poland listens to foreign radio stations. Radio Free Europe in Munich, which formerly was shunned by many Poles as biased, now has its largest audience ever. Poles call it "Warsaw Four." (The capital has three broadcasting stations.)

"Warsaw Four's" sources of information are stupendous, showing that discontent and a spirit of insurgency (Fronda) has spread among the highest officials and their auxiliaries.

The Polish press has been almost completely silent about developments in Czechoslovakia. Yet the public knows what is going on. Czech and Slovak broadcasts can be heard. (Slovak is so similar to Polish that any Pole can understand it.) Then there is the popular BBC and the Voice of America.

DANGER SIGNAL

The Western press is accessible in some 60 press and book clubs in all major cities. Scores of Poles are constantly returning from missions abroad. What they have to tell spreads and is frequently embellished.

The tense and desperate mood in the Polish capital is a danger signal for the ruling bureaucrats throughout the bloc. The rebellions of 1956 started in Poland. Polish intellectual and artistic life is the hope of reformers in all of Eastern Europe's Communist-ruled countries.

Poland with its 32 million inhabitants is the second-largest country of the bloc. It has actively participated in European history and in the continent's great cultural movements (the Reform, the Renaissance). Its people are known for their fighting spirit.

The mood of insurgency which has come to the fore in Warsaw these days has developed slowly and from many causes which all have their counterparts in other bloc countries.

OFFICIALS CLOSE PLAY

In contrast to 1956-57, economic reasons have little to do with the protest movement. There are no starvation wages; even the apartment shortage has eased. Except for pensioners without a family and some of the very old without pension, there is no misery in Poland. As a whole the common people live better than they did in the past. There is less inequality than in any other bloc country.

The immediate cause of the protest movement was the closing of the play "Dziady" by the Polish 19th-century classic writer Adam Mickiewicz. "Dziady," meaning the old men or the beggars, is a very long play which has to be shortened selectively in order to be performed. The new version, which was closed, highlighted certain anti-Russian passages which are out of line with the author's friendly approval of Russian revolutionists elsewhere.

The anti-Russian lines caught on and were greeted with wild applause by part of the audience. One reason for this may have been the residue of the old anti-Russian bias, which actually is disappearing among the intellectuals. More likely, the public enthusiasm reflected in indirect protest against the government's unfailing allegiance to Moscow. Rumors that last year's meat shortage, which led to a substantial rise in meat prices, was caused by excessive exports to the Soviet Union have fueled resentment on this score.

Be this as it may, the government closed the play, and the students protested. The Warsaw Writers Union joined in the protest. An extraordinary meeting of the Warsaw writers, called at the demand of 250 members (one-quarter of all the members of the Polish Writers Union), was held from Feb. 29 to March 1.

A resolution adopted by a large majority requested the reopening of the play and condemned the government's interference in cultural affairs. The meeting, which closed on March 1 at 2 a.m., was dramatic.

"ESCALATION OF CENSORSHIP"

Jerzy Andrzejewski, one of the most famous Polish writers, who had never spoken at any previous writers congress in the past 10 years, protested against "the escalation of censorship." The popular Roman Catholic writer, Sieran Kiezelewski, complained

that literature and history were being "falsified by the obscurantism" of the leaders.

Prof. Leszek Kolakowski, who was ousted from the party in 1966, spoke of the smothering of criticism and debate in every field. Professor Kolakowski is the idol of the students. "Is this really socialism?" he asked. The extraordinary congress also adopted a resolution demanding that the results of the meeting be published in the press. Not a word was printed, but what had been said, made the rounds of Warsaw with lightning speed and added to the tension.

No one can say whether those in power will be able to restore the artificial calm which has reigned in Poland for the past few years, or whether the insurgency of the intellectuals will shake up the government and the country. But even if calm is restored, the experiences and the bitter feelings of the past few weeks will not be forgotten.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 28, 1968]
WRITERS' PROTEST SCORED IN POLAND—OPPOSITION TERMED PLEASING TO NATION'S FOES ABROAD

(By Jonathan Randal)

WARSAW, March 27.—The Communist party newspaper, Trybuna Ludu, today printed a long attack on the extraordinary meeting of the Warsaw writers union held last month.

Wladyslaw Gomulka, the party leader, accused the writers in a speech March 19 of having played an active role in organizing the student demonstrations against Communist cultural controls.

The newspaper said the meeting of Feb. 29 "was probably the only forum in Poland where it was possible to express such slanders with impunity."

The meeting adopted a resolution condemning the regime's cultural policy, particularly the closing of Adam Mickiewicz's 19th-century play "Dziady" ("The Forefathers") in the Narodowy Theater. The Polish Government considered the production to have anti-Russian overtones.

Trybuna Ludu quoted various speeches, including one said to have been made by Leszek Kolakowski, a Marxist philosopher who was one of six Warsaw University professors dismissed Monday.

He was quoted as having said that "the national culture is being dwarfed under innumerable blows."

OPPOSITION IS NOTED

"The huge mass of unavoidable opposition has consolidated feelings of bitterness, frustrated hopes, caused the hopelessness of the situation and proved the incompetence and lack of ability in the cultural leadership," he added.

He was said to have rejected a draft resolution condemning the tightening of cultural controls because it "did not reflect fully enough the protest and bitterness provoked by the present-day administration of Polish culture."

The newspaper charged that the speeches at the meeting had served the political purposes of "antisocialist forces" abroad.

These forces "look for every opportunity to set the names of writers well known to masses of readers against the people's authority," the newspaper added, and "hostile propaganda centers have been going into ecstasies in commenting" on the writers' meeting.

Meanwhile, the newspaper Gazeta Krakowska denied rumors that one of its articles last week had suggested that police dogs had been used against rioters in Cracow.

The original article, dated one week ago, read: "Yesterday the surgical out-patient clinic of the ambulance service in Siemiradzki Street gave first aid to 112 patients. Those hurt were mainly people who had suffered injuries at their place of work. Many had been bitten by dogs."

[From the New York Times, Mar. 29, 1968]
WARSAW STUDENTS MEET AGAIN, DEFEYING REGIME—DEMAND THE REINSTATEMENT OF HUMANITIES PROFESSORS AND LEGAL REFORMS
(By Jonathan Randal)

WARSAW, March 28.—Warsaw University students today defied new warnings from the Polish Government and met to demand the reinstatement of six dismissed humanities professors, according to informed sources.

The unauthorized meeting of 2,000 students constituted the first overt act of student defiance since three Warsaw sit-ins ended last Saturday.

Held despite serious warnings in two newspapers today, the meeting was apparently prompted by the dismissal of professors Monday.

Wladyslaw Gomulka, the party leader, had foreshadowed the dismissals in a speech 10 days ago in which he said the professors were the "spiritual instigators" of the now three-week-old student unrest against Communist cultural controls.

Fragmentary reports about today's meeting said the students also denounced censorship and demanded the release of students arrested or drafted into the armed service because of their participation in demonstrations.

LEGAL REFORM DEMANDED

Another student demand was said to have been reform of the legal code, especially the so-called Small Penal Code.

Originally adopted in 1946 to deal with armed anti-Communist guerrillas who then disputed the government's authority, the Small Penal Code has often been invoked to punish dissident intellectuals.

The meeting today took place despite a series of warnings from the regime. Two days ago a message from Rector Stanislaw Turski warned that any further student disobedience would entail expulsions and the closing of the university.

PARTY PAPER WARNS

Today, Trybuna Ludu, the party newspaper, said student troublemakers "must be told with all seriousness, definitely and decisively, stop, put an end to trouble mongering, provocations and misleading your colleagues."

"All of us have had enough of mass meetings," it warned. "There will be and there can be no tolerance of trouble-mongers and people of ill will," the statement said.

Zycie Warszawy, another newspaper, warned "only firmness remains when all means of discussion and discreet persuasion become exhausted."

Backing up the stern warnings, police and plainclothesmen patrolled Krakowskie Przedmiescie, a main street, which passes in front of the university in the center of Warsaw.

The university gates were closed at 4:15 P.M. after the rector was reported to have exercised his privilege and canceled late afternoon classes. The gates were reopened more than three hours later and hundreds were seen leaving the university grounds.

While the gates were closed, hundreds of students were seen milling around inside the university grounds and adjacent streets. Many wore white caps, which have become the symbol of student defiance since the demonstrations began.

Meanwhile, observers noted a discrepancy in the party's handling of a principal student grievance—the use of security forces inside the university grounds despite traditional extraterritoriality enjoyed by Polish institutions of higher learning.

While Polish newspapers have printed articles stressing that no legislation or tradition exists on this score, Czeslaw Domagala, the party secretary in Cracow, said just the opposite.

Addressing a recent party rally, Mr. Domagala conceded that "an unfortunate incident

July 3, 1968

occurred, namely the entry of a group of police and workers' militia, while chasing students, into the grounds of Jagiellonian University."

He added: "Obviously, as a result of this unintentional incident by the police command—a violation of the traditional right of extraterritoriality of an institution of higher learning which no one approves of—an extraordinary outcry ensued."

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 11, 1968]

POLES PRESS REFORM DRIVE (By Paul Wohl)

Poland's political crisis is deepening. The country is in the middle of a political purge encompassing state, party, and the military. Veiled criticism has been addressed to the Politburo, the pinnacle of power.

The partisans of Gen. Mieczyslaw Moczar, Minister of the Interior, are advancing all along the line. Writers and students no longer hold the center of the stage. First Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka's call for moderation has been discarded.

The anti-Zionist campaign continues unabated. Other slogans used by the regime's critics stress calls for a radical renewal of cadres, for rejuvenation of party and state, for an end to corruption, slothfulness, and incompetence, for "true collective leadership." The last slogan hits at the present-day domination of the leadership by Mr. Gomulka, assisted by party Secretary Zenon Kliszko, at least until his resignation offer this week, and President Edward Ochab. All three, incidentally, have Jewish wives, which makes them vulnerable to the anti-Zionist campaign.

No one knows exactly what General Moczar is seeking, except that it entails a radical overhaul of party apparatus and administration in which his supporters would occupy strategic posts. Most of the several hundred thousand young workers recently admitted to the party are supposed to be Moczar supporters.

CAUSES TRACED

"The era of mistakes, hypocrisy, double-dealing, messiness, egotism, and indiscipline is coming to an end," wrote a spokesman of the general, Kazimierz Kakol, editor of the weekly Prawo i Zycie (Law and Life) recently.

Faulty planning and economic disproportions are at the bottom of much of the present trouble.

The economic records of 1967 and of the first months of this year were uneven. Consumer interests are being neglected. On the other hand, several new industrial projects have been completed including the big aluminum factory in Konin with a capacity of 100,000 tons and the nitrate fertilizer plant at Pulaw. Both projects have been in the works for several years.

Critics of the regime say that once planning is overhauled and management given the necessary leeway, Poland with its steadily increasing power capacity, its copper and sulphur processing facilities, its steel production of 10 million tons (half that of France), its booming shipyards, and its petrochemical industry may outstrip East Germany in industrial importance.

As industry expands and agriculture continues to do its share, shortages should begin to disappear and living standards increase.

POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

Last year's uneven economic record may be one of the reasons for the political advance of the partisans and for the popularity of Upper Silesian party Secretary Edward Gierk, who is identified with the demand for a thorough modernization of the Polish economy.

Facts and figures are spelled out in the United Nations economic survey of Europe in 1967. This carefully documented survey

shows that Poland lagged behind the other countries of the bloc, especially in the realm of consumer interest.

The growth of labor productivity was much slower than elsewhere. Production increases in industry were achieved largely through an expansion of the labor force in excess of plans.

The industrial growth rate was below the average of the 1960's. Production of consumer goods decelerated while heavy industry exceeded its targets.

Agriculture is hamstrung by all kinds of contradictions. Although meat consumption is still higher than in the past, meat deliveries last year increased by only 3.5 percent. In the second half of the year there was practically no increase at all. Yet according to the plan meat deliveries, should have risen by at least 7 percent to keep step with purchasing power.

FODDER SUPPLY CUT

The reason for the shortage of meat, especially pork, was insufficient fodder. The feed shortage, in turn, was a consequence of the decision to reduce imports of grain to save hard currency.

Ultimately, officials hope, domestic food supply will suffice. Such hopes, even if well founded, have been dashed out to the Polish people for years instead of tangible accomplishments. What happened on the "meat front" is typical of the abstract character in much of Polish planning.

In November meat prices were raised by an average of 16.7 percent. Since the price rise varied according to kind and cut, better qualities of meat, according to the United Nations survey, were placed "virtually beyond the reach of lower income groups."

The government's purpose in raising meat prices was to curtail purchasing power and to reduce the subsidy on meat. No attempt was made to pass on the price increase to the peasants.

Because there was neither enough meat nor a sufficient quantity of attractive consumer goods, savings and cash holdings went up by nearly 46 percent, accounting for about one-sixth of the people's total income.

Such disproportions have become increasingly characteristic of Polish planning. According to the regime's critics, methods of robbing Peter to pay Paul, of opening one bottleneck and causing two new ones, may have been justified during the reconstruction period when there were shortages all around.

Today, partisan economists say, this is unnecessary and harmful. The economic disproportions of the past few years are attributed to incompetence and the exercise of unimaginative personal power.

No one can say what the outcome will be, but there may be a change even before the next party congress in November. General Moczar's anti-Zionist followers are becoming more and more outspoken in press and television. Whatever changes do occur in the party, then, the Defense Minister is certain to have a hand in them.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 28, 1968]
TIGHT POLISH CURB ON WRITERS URGED—
UNION AIDE ASKS GREATER REGULATION
BY PARTY

(By Jonathan Randal)

WARSAW, April 27.—The Communist party newspaper demanded today that measures insuring tighter party control of the writers' union be distributed. The measures could prevent many of Poland's better known writers from earning a living.

The demands for greater control, published in the newspaper Trybuna Ludu, were also addressed to party organizations dealing with artists, musicians and actors.

Ireneusz G. Kaminski, chairman of the Szczecin branch of the writers' union, urged that party organizations be empowered to ex-

pel members who are "enemies of our country," choose new ones and decide on scholarship policy and foreign travel.

Expulsion from the union is tantamount to prevent a writer from publishing new works or benefiting from financial advantages accorded intellectuals.

The article reflected the regime's growing annoyance with the intellectual community, which has been held responsible for fomenting student unrest.

SELECTIVITY IS URGED

Mr. Kaminski complained that the writers' union and other similar associations "admit new members only on the basis of the artistic value of their work without considering the moral and political attitudes of candidates."

He also noted that the writers' union had no provision for expelling members, a shortcoming that so far has frustrated the regime's plan to oust Antoni Slonimski, Pawel Jasiemca and Stefan Kisielewski. All three have been under attack from critics ranging from Wladyslaw Gomulka, the party leader, down.

Expulsions are mandatory, Mr. Kaminski contended, to "get rid of the whole ballast of two-faced persons and of those who, in practice, have long strayed into the revisionist and Zionist wilderness."

"Let us stop at long last being coquettish toward political opponents lest we persuade them that they are worthy partners of the rulers of this country," he said.

He advocated new statutes to make ideological loyalty to Communism mandatory for membership and also setting up a party umbrella organization to oversee the activities in all the branches of the writers union.

CRITICISM IS DEFENDED

Such far-reaching criticism as Mr. Kaminski's was defended today in an editorial, titled "Criticism The Party's Most Efficient Weapon," in Tryduma Mazowiecka. The newspaper is closely associated with Maj. Gen. Mieczyslaw Moczar, the Interior Minister, who is believed to be a major force behind both the "anti-Zionist" campaign and the power struggle challenging Mr. Gomulka's authority.

"No progress is possible without criticism," the editorial proclaimed. "No one has succeeded or will succeed in snatching from the hand of the party its principal weapon—criticism."

The editorial was regarded as a warning from General Moczar and other advocates of change that the current purge would continue despite Mr. Gomulka's reiterated efforts to moderate its tone, especially toward Poland's 30,000 Jews. Many of the hundreds of Poles purged from job or party in the last seven weeks have been Jews.

PENSIONED OFF EARLY

The latest Jewish victim was Prof. Juliusz Katz-Suchy, a former representative at the United Nations and Ambassador to India. The 56-year-old professor of history and international relations at the Warsaw University Law School was pensioned off today by order of the Education Ministry although the normal retirement age is 65.

He was criticized last month by Trybuna Ludu for an alleged "politically ambiguous attitude" toward student demonstrations.

In another development, the editor of the weekly newspaper Polityka indirectly criticized Czechoslovakia's peaceful revolution and Rumania's independent foreign policy as "too far-reaching and inconsistent with reality." The editor, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski has often reflected Mr. Gomulka's thinking on problems of the international Communist movement in the past.

Although events in eastern Europe reflected "rejection of what is obsolete and destructive," Mr. Rakowski said, some developments "should be recognized as extreme, unfavorable for the consolidation of Socialism

or too far-reaching and inconsistent with reality."

He wrote that "any centrifugal tendencies dictated by narrowly understood national interests, losing the common interest by the wayside, are dangerous because they push back the nations of the Socialist world from the path along which they have been progressing for more than 20 years."

[From the New York Times, Apr. 29, 1968]

POLISH WRITERS GIVEN A WARNING—UNION TOLD TO BAR DISSIDENTS OR RISK NEW CONTROLS

WARSAW, April 26.—The leading Communists in the Warsaw Writers' Union pleaded with his nonparty colleagues today to expel some writers as the price of avoiding tighter government control of the association.

Jerzy Putrament, first secretary of the party organization in the union's Warsaw branch, said "the union would be forced to undergo changes of one kind or another" unless critics of the regime were expelled. He did not specify how many critics were involved.

Mr. Putrament's plea, in the newspaper *Zycie Warszawy*, followed by a day a much sterner call for purges and vastly increased party control of the writers' union. Most union members do not belong to the party.

Expulsion of "politicos who have chosen the union as a field of action transcending literature and aimed against the people's authority," Mr. Putrament said, might "provide a chance of preserving the union's specific organization."

A WARNING ON "LOYALTY"

The writer—a member of the Central Committee and a former Ambassador to France—warned union members against being swayed by "political blindness, twisted interpretations of the union's very imperfect statutory framework or falsely understood loyalty to colleagues."

"The writers' union will no longer tolerate the activities of enemies of the system, particularly within the union itself," he said.

Mr. Putrament did not mention by names the union members he wanted expelled. But it is known that the Government, increasingly impatient with its intellectual critics, has asked the union to expel the writers January Grzedsinsky, Pawel Jasienica and Stefan Kisielewski.

So far nothing has been done, and union's statutes include no provisions for expelling members.

DRIVE PRESSED ON TV

Writers critical of the party line were also attacked tonight in a television commentary by Josef Ozga-Michalski, a poet and member of Parliament. In remarks that reflected the Government's "anti-Zionist" campaign, he said, "It should be stated that those who fraternized with and lived behind the table with Jehovah had a special inclination toward forbidden fruit."

"In many of these personalities forcing themselves forward," he added, "patriotism has drained into foreign seas and other rivers."

At the same time, the official press agency, R.A.P., accused a number of New York politicians of "more or less rabid anti-Polish attacks" in connection with the "anti-Zionist" campaign here.

Senator Jacob K. Javits "deemed it necessary to express the 'profound anxiety' of the United States because, as he untruthfully maintained, of the 'intensifying anti-Semitic incidents in Poland,'" the agency's Washington correspondence reported.

Representatives Jacob H. Gilbert, Joseph P. Addabbo and Seymour Halpern "also put forward crude insinuations," the agency said.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 29, 1968]
PURGE BEWILDERS JEWS IN POLAND—"WHAT WENT WRONG?" ASKS VICTIM OF "ANTI-ZIONISM"

(By Jonathan Randal)

WARSAW, April 25.—"Recently it's better to be called Radziwill than Rabinowicz," remarked a Pole in commenting on the official "anti-Zionist" campaign, which the regime has conceded is getting out of hand.

The remark was not without a peculiar form of Polish compulsion for, in an earlier period, the regime had also attacked former landowning families like the Radziwills, some of whom remained in Poland under Communist rule.

Love of country had been as much a deciding factor in their staying as it was for the Jewish survivors of Hitler's "final solution."

That love, and often a long commitment to Communism have prompted questioning by some of the Jewish victims of the current purge that is strangely similar to that Arthur Hoesler described in "Darkness at Noon." That novel described the Stalinist purge trials of the nineteen thirties in the Soviet Union.

ONCE A HAVEN

"What went wrong?" one purged Jew asked. His dismay was genuine, for if Poland has an anti-Semitic tradition, so does most of Eastern Europe. Indeed, the Warsaw regime is on solid ground in pointing out that Jews from the rest of Europe fled to Poland as a haven of tolerance in past centuries.

The current campaign has its roots as much in recent history as in ancient history. Many Polish Jews fled to the Soviet Union as the Germans advanced, and returned with the liberating Red Army to high positions in the new Communist regime here a quarter of a century ago.

A substantial number of them held important posts in the much-hated secret police in the Stalinist period and were regarded by Poles more as Soviet Stalinists than as fellow Polish citizens.

Vladyslaw Gomulka, the Communist party's First Secretary, has offered Poland's remaining 30,000 Jews passports for Israel and has tried to moderate the "anti-Zionist" campaign, the popularity of which constitutes a threat to his leadership.

But for many Polish Jews the harm has been done. They had a chance to emigrate earlier and remained.

After telling themselves for years that Poland was their homeland, they are now being told that their loyalty is suspect.

A recently purged Jew—one of hundreds dismissed from job or from the party in the last seven weeks—bemoaned his fate: "Fifty years in the movement, kicked out of the party, lost my job and my son in jail."

Even those who have been pensioned off, rather than dismissed, find little solace in the pensions. "They won't have to pay those pensions for long," said a man who knows many important Jewish party members. "A lot of them are going to die of broken hearts."

CONVERSATION IN POINT

Just how far the "anti-Zionist" campaign has taken root in the Polish people was illustrated recently in a conversation between a Westerner and a customs official.

"You Westerners don't understand because your press lies about Poland," the customs official said. "Of the 30,000 Jews in Poland, at least occupy important posts, especially in the ministries, and it's quite natural that we want to get rid of them because they don't work, they only work for themselves and have no national spirit."

"What do you reproach the Jews with, with being ministers or Jews?" asked the Westerner.

"You don't understand," the customs official said. "They didn't work and we will replace them with people who work for the nation and not for themselves."

"In any case, they should be happy—we've not taken away their apartments or their cars or imprisoned them."

Nonetheless, persistent rumors suggest that some purge victims have been forced out of their apartments, and an atmosphere of uneasiness has been created that appears difficult to dispel.

A current Warsaw story sums up this atmosphere as well as anything.

"Is that you, Jaworski?" a tense voice on the telephone asks, "This is Kowalski."

"But which Kowalski? I know dozens of them."

"Israel Kowalski, the one you hid in the closet during the Occupation."

"Oh, yes, how are you? Haven't heard from you in 20 years."

"Let's cut things short. Do you still have that closet?"

The number of Jews asking to emigrate to Israel has increased considerably since the "anti-Zionist" campaign began last month.

[From the New York Times, May 5, 1968]

PRAGUE'S REFORM SCORED BY POLES—WARSAW NEWSPAPERS OPENLY CRITICIZE "NEUTRALIST AND ANTI-SOVIET" TRENDS

(By Jonathan Randal)

WARSAW, May 4.—The controlled Polish press directly attacked today the growing liberalization movement in Czechoslovakia.

Departing from past veiled criticism of Czechoslovak developments, which have been reported here only in part, Warsaw newspapers published a dispatch today criticizing "neutralist and anti-Soviet tendencies" in Czechoslovakia.

[Amid increasing criticism from the Soviet Union and its allies, four Czechoslovak leaders conferred Saturday in the Kremlin after a surprise nighttime flight to Moscow.]

The article, signed by Wlodzimerz Zralek, Prague correspondent of the Polish Workers Agency, a press service, also decried Czechoslovakia's rapprochement with West Germany, the "dictatorship of the intelligentsia" and the growth of non-Communist parties.

The overt Polish criticism of the Czechoslovak reforms was published in *Zycie Warszawy*, a mass-circulation newspaper; *Zolnierz Wolnosci*, the army newspaper, and *Sztandar Mlodych*, the Communist youth paper.

Political analysts suggested that it reflected support for the Old Guard elements in Czechoslovakia associated with the ousted President Antonin Novotny, and was a clear warning that Poland would not tolerate any similar liberalization.

Mr. Zralek said his dispatch was based not on "conversations in which antisocialist tendencies occasionally became apparent," but on statements at the Czechoslovak Central Committee meeting last month "expressing anxiety about the further evolution of events."

Those doubts were expressed generally by Mr. Novotny's supporters, who are in a distinct minority, observers noted. Mr. Novotny was ousted from the leadership on January.

Mr. Zralek did not mention the relative strength of the liberal and Old Guard wings of the party. Rather he sought to convey the impression that the conservatives had the upper hand by quoting Alexander Dubcek, the Czechoslovak party leader.

"We would have been shortsighted," Mr. Dubcek was quoted as having told the Central Committee meeting, if we did not notice one more phenomenon after January: The revival of certain antisocialist tendencies.

The Polish dispatch said that at the Czechoslovak party meeting "critical com-

July 3, 1968

ments were caused by the tendencies to introduce a 'dictatorship of the intelligentsia' and to minimize the role of the working class."

The observers noted that many Polish intellectuals had been purged from job and party in the last two months as the Polish regime has stressed the primacy of the working class in tones that sometime recall the Stalinist period.

Mr. Zralek also said that some speakers at the Czechoslovak Central Committee session were apprehensive that developments might push Czechoslovak off the path of socialist development.

FREE PLAY OF FORCES

Causing this anxiety, Mr. Zralek noted, were "voices advocating the return to the free play of political forces as a means of forcing the Czechoslovak Communist party to give up its guiding role."

"Attention was drawn to the massive growth of the Catholic People's party and the Socialist party, a growth which may be only partly explained by lifting the previously binding administrative prohibition on admitting new members," he added.

"If we decided to express our apprehension over the current events in Poland, it is only to repay our debt," they added. "We are doing so without any feeling of superiority, aware that we also have to overcome the past."

The endeavor to spread [anti-Soviet] feelings, "is still more perfidious since it is generally known what position was taken by Brezhnev during his visit to Prague in the critical days," the article said. It said Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet party leader, had stated "that the Soviet Union did not intend to interfere in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs."

Turning to student unrest in Warsaw, the writers asked the Polish leaders "not to confuse the natural criticism of the young generation with hostile subversion, and not to drive Polish citizens by harsh sanctions to positions that are inherently alien to them."

[From the New York Times, May 5, 1968]

CZECHS CRITICIZE POLAND

PRAGUE, May 4.—Three Czechoslovak writers appealed to Polish leaders today "to put an end to the shameful anti-Semitism threatening to stain the common fight of the Poles and the Jews against Hitler's fascism."

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION AND CONTROL ACT OF 1958—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 875

Mr. DODD submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 12120) to assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to support research and training efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

REQUIREMENT OF AIRCRAFT NOISE ABATEMENT REGULATION—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 876

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIER] and myself, I submit an amendment to H.R. 3400, an act providing for control and abatement of air-

craft noise and sonic boom, and ask that it be printed.

When H.R. 3400 is taken up on the floor after the 4th of July recess, I intend to call up my amendment which would add to H.R. 3400 the provisions of my own sonic boom control bill (S. 3399).

Mr. President, I ask that the text of my amendment to H.R. 3400 be printed in the RECORD.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendments will be received, printed, and will lie on the table; and, without objection, the amendments will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 876) is as follows:

On the first page, line 10, strike out "and sonic boom."

On page 2, line—strike out "and sonic boom".

On page 2, line 5, strike out "and sonic boom".

On page 2, line 12, strike out "and sonic boom".

On page 3, lines 9 and 10, strike out "or sonic boom standards, rules, or regulations" and insert in lieu thereof "standards, rules, or regulations issued pursuant to subsection (a)".

On page 3, line 15, strike out "or sonic boom".

On page 3, line 18, strike out the quotation marks and between such line and line 19 insert the following:

"(d) The Administrator shall (1) prohibit nonmilitary aircraft, singly or in any combination thereof, from being operated over the United States (including territories and possessions thereof) in such a way as to produce sonic booms, but such prohibition shall not apply to aircraft used in the investigation and study herein authorized; (2) conduct a full and complete investigation and study for the purpose of determining what exposures to sonic booms (amount and frequency) are detrimental to the health and welfare of any persons, and such investigation and study shall include (A) consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the President of the National Academy of Sciences, and (B) such research as may be necessary, which shall include, but not be limited to, the startle effect and physiological or psychological problems that result from sonic booms and the possible detrimental effects on preservation of natural beauty and historic shrines; (3) within one year from the date of enactment of this subsection make a report to the Congress on his findings as of that time, together with the written comments of the above-mentioned officials; and (4) no later than two years from the date of enactment of this subsection, report to Congress on the final results of his findings, together with the final written comments of such Federal officials."

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE 192D ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, we live in a time of revolution. In all the nations of the world, including ours, there are increasingly frequent scenes of disorder, disruption, violence, pitched battle in the streets, and—in many forms—attacks on the properly constituted authorities of government, from police officers to political leaders.

In this vast scene of turmoil and turbulence, there are many who fear for the safety of the United States and for the preservation of our great institutions of freedom. On this occasion, the 192d anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, I think it is important to state why we must not be fearful in these revolutionary times. In fact, these revolutionary times offer us opportunities for accomplishment quite as grand as any that have heretofore existed.

If it is true that these are revolutionary times, it also is true that we are a revolutionary nation.

The United States was born in revolution and our founding principle—the principle that made us the special Nation we are—is a revolutionary principle. That principle is stated elegantly and for all times in our Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The American Revolution was the greatest political revolution in history because it established government, for the first time, on the principle of the equality of all men in their rights to live their own lives in freedom, with their own happiness as their goal.

Those powerful words, and that principle, made Americans one people. And the Constitution they wrote a decade or so later, based on the principle of the equality of all men in their rights to life and liberty, made Americans into a special kind of nation—a stable and law-abiding nation based on a revolutionary principle.

That paradox—of stability and revolution—is what makes me confident, not fearful, that America is well-suited to survive and even thrive in a revolutionary age. What makes our Nation strong is the principle of equality. What will make us stronger and stronger is progress in equality.

The revolutionary demands that endanger other nations should not endanger our Nation if we keep in mind our revolutionary founding principle.

Whoever among us demands his full share of equality in human rights is fully in accord with American principles, and in granting those rights we help him become more fully an American citizen. What might tend to tear down and threaten in other countries not founded on equality as we are, tends in the United States to build up, to strengthen, to ad-